

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 NSC-05
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 INRE-00 SP-02 EB-07 DHA-02
L-03 NEA-10 ACDA-07 AF-10 SIL-01 LAB-04 COME-00
TRSE-00 PM-04 DODE-00 /104 R

DRAFTED BY UNA:JFTEFFT/EUR/CE:SMKLINGAMAN
APPROVED BY IO:JABAKER
IO/UNP:GBHELMAN

-----079934 160009Z /62

O P 152332Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 165936

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PORG, GW, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)

MEETINGS IN BONN

1. THIS MEMO PROVIDES BACKGROUND FOR YOUR PRE-UNGA
CONSULTATIONS IN BONN ON JULY 19. IT IS MEANT TO
HIGHLIGHT KEY ISSUES WHICH MIGHT ARISE AND TO COMPLEMENT
PRE-UNGA BACKGROUND BOOK POUCHED EARLIER TO YOU IN
GENEVA. WE ASSUME AMB. STOESSEL WILL BRIEF YOU ON
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S
VISIT TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEK.

2. SETTING
YOUR MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, STATE
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SECRETARY HERMES, AND DIRECTOR OF IO AFFAIRS REDIES
FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY ON THE VISIT OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT
AND GENSCHER TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT
AND THE SECRETARY ON JULY 13 AND 14. THOSE TALKS
COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF MAJOR POLITICAL, SECURITY
AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.

WE EXPECT GENSCHER AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL WISH TO
EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU IN PARTICULAR, ON HUMAN RIGHTS,ILO,
SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE UPCOMING UNGA. THEY MIGHT ALSO

RAISE THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROCOMMUNISM.

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT (SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY) AND VICE CHANCELLOR/ FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER (FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY) HAS ONLY A TEN VOTE MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT AND IS BESET BY INTRO-AND INTER-PARTY WRANGLINGS. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO HAS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ECONOMIC GROWTH WILL FALL SHORT OF THE 5 PROJECTED FOR 1977; INFLATION IS HOLDING AT ABOUT 4 BUT UNEMPLOYMENT REMAINS STUBBORNLY AT NEARLY ONE MILLION (4.6). ALTHOUGH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH DOMESTIC AND PARTY PROBLEMS, WEST GERMANY IS IN BETTER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SHAPE THAN MOST OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

3. PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS

YOU WILL RECALL YOUR EARLIER MEETING WITH FRG DIRECTOR OF IO AFFAIRS HELMUT REDIES. BILL MAYNES AND THE IO STAFF ALSO MET WITH REDIES ON JUNE 20 TO REVIEW MAJOR ISSUES LIKELY TO COME UP DURING THE 32ND UNGA (THE MEETING IS REPORTED IN STATE 146546, BEING CONFIDENTIAL

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REPEATED TO YOU). THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES THAT THE SPECIFIC TONE OF THE 32ND UNGA WOULD DEPEND ON:

- THE EXTENT OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S SUCCESS IN MOVING NAMIBIA TOWARD INDEPENDENCE;
- CONTINUED MOMENTUM TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT; AND
- THE POSITION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES TAKEN AT THE RESUMED 31ST UNGA.

IF PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON THESE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE GERMANS SHARE OUR HOPE OF BEING ABLE TO DIRECT THE UNGA'S ATTENTION TO SUCH NEGLECTED ISSUES AS HUMAN RIGHTS AND DISARMAMENT.

THE GERMANS HAVE VOTED WITH US CONSISTENTLY ON MOST MAJOR ISSUES IN THE UN (KOREA, GUAM, ZIONISM/RACISM, SOUTHERN AFRICA). WE EXPECT THAT US-FRG COORDINATION AT THE UPCOMING SESSION WILL REMAIN SOLID.

4. ISSUES

A. HUMAN RIGHTS

THE FRG, SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1949, HAS BEEN VERY

SENSITIVE TO ISSUES INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS. POSTWAR GERMANS ARE DETERMINED NOT TO RELIVE THE NAZI CHAPTER

OF THEIR HISTORY. THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE GENERALLY ENDORSE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S STRONG STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THEY ARE DUBIOUS ABOUT PUBLICLY PROCLAIMING AN OFFICIAL POSITION CRITICAL OF OTHER COUNTRIES' (ESPECIALLY USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE) INTERNAL SITUATIONS, AND BELIEVE THAT "QUIET DIPLOMACY" IS MORE EFFECTIVE. GERMAN OFFICIALS POINT TO THE SUCCESS BONN HAS HAD IN FACILITATING EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS FROM THE
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USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE TO THE FRG.

THE GERMANS AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A THOROUGH REVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE BELGRADE CSCE-FOLLOW UP CONFERENCE IN THE FALL, BUT FEAR THAT HEAVY STRESS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE. WHILE THE WEST GERMANS ARE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN EAST GERMANY AND EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR, THEY ALSO SUPPORT THE NEW US POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA.

AT THE UN, THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN THE PRIME MOVERS IN PRESSING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AGAINST THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES. WE HAVE ASSURED THE GERMANS OF OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS IN DEALING WITH THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM. THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TORTURE AT THE 32ND UNGA WILL LIKELY BE INFLUENCED BY THE RESULT OF THE AUGUST MEETING ON HOSTAGES.

B. SOUTHERN AFRICA

OF THE THREE MAIN PROBLEM AREAS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE FRG IS MOST INTERESTED IN NAMIBIA. THERE ARE ABOUT 25,000 ETHNIC GERMANS, OF WHICH ABOUT 8,000 ARE GERMAN CITIZENS. THE FRG PARTICIPATES IN THE CONTACT GROUP ON NAMIBIA. ALTHOUGH THE FRG WOULD GIVE FIRST PRIORITY TO ASSISTANCE TO NAMIBIA, THE WEST GERMANS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN CONTRIBUTING TO A ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND ONCE IT IS ESTABLISHED. ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE FRG OPPOSES APARTHEID, BUT WOULD NOT FAVOR IMPOSITION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.
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THE GERMANS WILL NO DOUBT BE VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN YOUR CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS A MEMBER OF THE CONTACT GROUP, THEY MAY

WANT TO DISCUSS FURTHER STRATEGY TO ATTAIN NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE CURRENTLY WAITING FOR SWAPO'S RESPONSE TO SET A DEFINITE DATE FOR TALKS IN NEW YORK. THE MOST RECENT EFFORTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WERE TO:

- INFORM THE SOUTH AFRICANS OF THE NEED TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM AND TO EXPRESS CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF CONSULTATION PRIOR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL FOR NAMIBIA;
- PRESS THE SAG FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL PLANS; AND
- DRAFT A JOINT LETTER FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP TO SYG WALDHEIM URGING HIM TO DEFINE THE UN ROLE IN NAMIBIA.

C. MIDDLE EAST

WEST GERMAN POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST HEWS CLOSELY TO THAT OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) AS A WHOLE, ALTHOUGH BECAUSE OF STRONG FRENCH INFLUENCE, THE EC POLICY HAS TENDED TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE PRO-ARAB THAN WEST GERMANY'S NATIONAL POSTURE. HOWEVER, THE GERMANS DO SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE AND BELIEVE THAT PLO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF THE PALESTINANS' RIGHT TO STATEHOOD ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA SHOULD BE SIMULTANEOUS.

THE GERMANS CONSIDER THAT THEY HAVE A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH ISRAEL, BASED ON GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE HOLOCAUST, AND HAVE PROVIDED SEVERAL BILLION DOLLARS IN REPARATIONS TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND TO INDIVIDUAL SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST.
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THE GERMANS' INCLINATION IS TO DEFER TO THE UNITED STATES WHERE MIDDLE EAST PEACEMAKING INITIATIVES ARE CONCERNED. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER VISITED MIDDLE EAST CAPITALS EARLIER THIS YEAR TO ENCOURAGE MOVEMENT TOWARD GENEVA. WITH THE RECENT ISSUANCE OF THE NEW EC STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH IN EFFECT ENDORSED DIRECT PLO PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA AND A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND, BUT PAID SCANT ATTENTION TO ISRAEL'S DEFINITION OF PEACE, THE FRG IS UNLIKELY FOR A WHILE TO HAVE MUCH MORE TO SAY PUBLICLY ON THE SUBJECT.

D. DISARMAMENT

GERMANY IS A MEMBER OF THE 54 MEMBER SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) PREPARATORY COMMITTEE AND THE

SPECIAL EUROPEAN WORKING GROUP ON THE SSOD. WHILE THE GERMANS HAVE TAKEN A GENERALLY CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SSOD THUS FAR, REDIES ADVOCATED ON JUNE 20 "SHAKING UP" THE TACIT SOVIET-THIRD WORKING

DISARMAMENT ALLIANCE BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE WEST IS A SOURCE OF REAL, AS OPPOSED TO PROPAGANDA, ARMS CONTROL MEASURES. YOU MIGHT SUGGEST TO THE GERMANS THAT WE HOPE THEY WILL JOIN US IN MAKING A STRONG AND POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE THIRD SSOD PREPCOM.

E. EUROCOMMUNISM: FRANCE AND ITALY
THE FRG IS CONCERNED THAT A VICTORY OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE'S UPCOMING ELECTIONS, AND THE ENTRY OF COMMUNISTS INTO THE ITALIAN AND PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENTS WOULD DANGEROUSLY WEAKEN THE ATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN UNDERPINNINGS OF WEST GERMANY'S POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY. THE
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FRG REALIZES THAT WEST GERMANY CANNOT BE DEFENDED CONVENTIONALLY WITHOUT FRENCH PARTICIPATION, AND WOULD FIND PROLONGED UNCERTAINTY REGARDING FRANCE'S RELIABILITY IN A CRISIS PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING.

CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT -- UNLIKE OTHER GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SUCH AS BRANDT -- AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAVE TAKEN A HARD LINE ON COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE, AND ENCOURAGED THE US TO DO LIKEWISE. SCHMIDT HAS PROMOTED THE USE OF BOTH THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND HIS OWN PARTY'S RESOURCES TO SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. IN ITALY, THE FRG HAS USED GERMAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AS A LEVER TO BLOCK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" WITH THE COMMUNISTS, THREATENING TO WITHHOLD SUCH AID IF THE COMMUNISTS WERE BROUGHT INTO THE GOVERNMENT. SCHMIDT IS CONVINCED THAT HIS (AND OUR) BEST STRATEGY IN FRANCE IS TO GIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO GISCARD, ENCOURAGING GISCARD'S INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES, AND DEMONSTRATING UNDERSTANDING FOR THE CONSTRAINTS UNDER WHICH GISCARD MUST OPERATE.

F. ILO
THE GERMANS WILL LIKELY MAKE A STRONG PRESENTATION TO YOU URGING THE US TO REMAIN IN THE ILO. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT BROUGHT THE MATTER UP WITH THE PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION, THE EC-9 MADE A DEMARCHE TO DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER URGING THE US TO STAY IN AND ASKING FOR CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO ANY DECISION ON WITHDRAWAL. THESE HIGH-LEVEL APPROACHES UNDERLINE THE CONCERN OF THE GERMANS AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OVER THE ILO WHICH NO DOUBT WAS EXPRESSED TO YOU DURING YOUR CONSULTATIONS IN GENEVA.

5. BIOGRAPHIC DATA:

A. HANS DIETRICH GENSCHER - GENSCHER, THE FOREIGN
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MINISTER AND VICE-CHANCELLOR, IS A HARD-DRIVING AND AMBITIOUS POLITICIAN. HIS POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT IS ENHANCED BY HIS POSITION AS THE UNQUESTIONED LEADER OF THE FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE JUNIOR COALITION PARTNER OF SCHMIDT'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. ALTHOUGH RELATIVELY INEXPERIENCED IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHEN HE BECAME FOREIGN MINISTER, GENSCHER HAS LEARNED HIS JOB WELL AND HAS IMPRESSED OBSERVERS AS BEING QUITE COMPETENT IN INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS. GENSCHER IS CONVINCED THAT CLOSE RELATIONS WITH US ARE A PILLAR OF GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. GENSCHER OFTEN DIFFERS WITH "CHMIDT, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE CHANCELLOR'S PERSONALIZED DIPLOMACY IGNORES HIM AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE. HE FEELS THAT SCHMIDT TRIES TO UPSTAGE HIM AND HE IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO ANY SLIGHTS, REAL OR IMAGINED.

B. STATE SECRETARY PETER HERMES:

A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION, HERMES WAS CHOSEN BY GENSCHER AS STATE SECRETARY IN AUGUST 1975 BECAUSE OF HIS CONSIDERABLE EXPERTISE AS AN ECONOMIST, DIPLOMAT, AND NEGOTIATOR. HERMES IS RESPONSIBLE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY, DEVELOPMENT POLICY, EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND CULTURAL POLICY ABROAD. HE HAS SERVED IN THE GERMAN FOREIGN SERVICE IN SAN FRANCISCO, BASEL, THE VATICAN AND PARIS (OECD). HE ENJOYS PLAYING TENNIS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS,
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE165936
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: UNA:JFTEFFT/EUR/CE:SMKLINGAMAN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770253-0353
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197707105/baaaetgn.tel
Line Count: 305
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e5048762-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1725644
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR PRE UNGA DISCUSSIONS IN BONN - ANDREW YOUNG
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, OVIP, GE, (YOUNG, ANDREW J)
To: GENEVA INFO USUN N Y MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e5048762-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009